

1928.]

Spier, Havasupai Ethnography.

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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. 586  
Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said 684  
that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband  
would keep their children.

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved  
barren (*pl'ig'ladaldj*, barren women) the husband would take a 595  
second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls  
her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property,  
etc., would be turned out.

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives 593  
would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate 684  
by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running  
away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents  
without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman  
married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man,  
though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai  
consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the  
agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally  
recognized that she is a light character.

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation 582  
today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women 648  
and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of  
Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of  
native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture,  
speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were  
never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally Paiute  
and Navaho women were married.<sup>2</sup> Other tribes were too distant to  
furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes be-  
cause it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married  
in the old days, because they were the chief enemies.

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied 439  
their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. 586  
Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. 837  
In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's  
parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the  
following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit  
relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common.

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee  
Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

<sup>1</sup>(a), 551.<sup>2</sup>Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools,  
and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship.  
423 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to  
342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But  
nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him.  
[462] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The  
[768] house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have  
422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garco's found them  
[462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.<sup>1</sup> Two or three good riding  
[175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles  
[768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is  
killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their  
blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his  
weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two;  
a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other  
words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own  
and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either  
[593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me:  
422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little  
432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing<sup>2</sup> and myself as  
being sharply in contrast with that at Zuni. For instance, when buying a  
858 small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price.  
Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her  
Zuni-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this,  
I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This  
had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But  
the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the pur-  
chase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably  
situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them  
hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses-  
428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather pro-  
determined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weap-  
[769] ons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are  
permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his  
family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire 726  
to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.<sup>1</sup>

## TORTS.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to 682  
assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor 593  
wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a for- 648  
eigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge 683  
themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the 628  
Walapai, fracasas do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over 628  
a horse race. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a  
blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A  
chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai  
would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two 627  
men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere  
before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 230). 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing 628  
and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 307). Sinyella's 648  
father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho 685  
wife (p. 227).

## COMPARATIVE NOTES

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this 171  
area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matriloal resi- 591  
dence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuni, Sia, and un-  
doubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is  
affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and 423  
by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at  
least there is both matriloal and patriloal residence. Dumarest in-  
dicates Cochiti as patriloal, but Starr has it matriloal. The Navaho  
may be matriloal and the Kiowa certainly are.<sup>2</sup> Patriloal residence  
occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Chihuilla,  
evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps  
the Gabriellino.<sup>3</sup> Temporary matriloal residence is found among the  
Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano,  
Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foot-  
hills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Die-  
gueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac-

<sup>1</sup>Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 73, 75).

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, (l), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 20; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 43;  
Lippe, 48; Curtis, I, 125-127; Mooney, (c), 233.

<sup>3</sup>Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 133; II, 33, 86; Gilford, (a), 173, 198; Hall, 11.

## 228 THE INDIANS OF THE

584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bridegroom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile.

585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife.

[591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often—even, also, as white young people do—they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter.

[586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

## PAINTED DESERT REGION 229

its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple. 584 593

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded. 595 586 [593]

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three 595 157

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

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In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

#### Kinship

602 An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal  
603 grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared  
[591] with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence  
group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband  
[848] seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or  
[591] who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

Children of Divorced Parents

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A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

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A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of fatherhood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference.

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Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry. At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, public opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

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In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired.

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In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males.

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A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify.

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A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline.

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By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling-off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage.

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three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried: One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced.

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#### Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses.

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Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband.

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The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

### Sharing the Work

462 Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one  
593 sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

● Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work, including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

### Authority and Accommodation

593 While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

593 A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often with the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

593 Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and  
578 wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and

use of force, kinsmen of the disputants may sometimes admonish a husband or seek to reconcile a rebellious wife. Relatives seldom resort to force in settling a marital dispute, although quarreling and occasional fighting between a spouse and his or her in-law kin group does occur, with both sets of in-laws sometimes becoming involved. Plainly, a wife's submission is reinforced in the culture by pressure of public opinion, expressed sentiment of a kinship group, and application of force by a husband. 593  
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Many marriages are eventually strengthened by bonds of affection. If affection does not exist in the beginning, it often develops with long association, and couples may cooperate in consideration of their mutual regard or in a desire for peaceful coexistence. 593

On the whole, married couples appear to maintain predominantly harmonious relationships, although in a few instances, marriages are punctuated regularly and frequently by discord. It may be said, in general, that unions of greater duration are less susceptible to serious dispute, but peaceful relationships may be counted also among younger couples.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery; only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

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#### Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

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Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

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A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

#### Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric-

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593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-  
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-  
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)  
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every  
[586] time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my  
children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got  
tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and  
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-  
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's  
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

#### Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she  
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves  
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her  
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-  
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with  
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding  
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the  
[576] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring  
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't  
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may  
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not  
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can  
easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for  
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization  
of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects  
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-  
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears  
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-  
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or  
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable  
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,  
at least for the time being.

#### Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently  
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

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736 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual affection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

[178] Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

#### Old Age

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737 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

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water bottles are first coated with soap-wood paste colored red, and then with pine gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved amane. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and staved. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

534 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.

535 The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carrying straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no class or gentes system, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

## THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house. 593

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudices to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family. 591 736

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock. 624

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief. 624

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 577 578 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them. 601 606

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months. 577 586 768 765

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed. 262 343

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back. 652 654 482

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes